

set speech at
Philad before
Jull Assn 30 Oct 55
Chiefs of Police,

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the Central Intelligence Agency.

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Ct. Grogan corrected
cy. This was typed in
accordance with correction
and given to him for Mr.
Dulles, 29 Sept. 55.
EL

Although I realize the risk of making a confession in such a company as
~~before you~~
this, I must confess to you that I stand here in some trepidation. I can
~~describe~~
only describe my situation as that of the man in front of the Man Behind the
Badge!

I have a strange feeling that I am being watched. Perhaps I should have
used the word "tailed." Unless I am much mistaken, I am thoroughly and
completely staked out!

I have already forgotten the funny story I was going to tell because I
find myself unable to stop wondering where I parked my car. There was a sign that
said "No Parking from here to the Corner", but the ~~corner~~ corner was so far
from the sign that I don't think it could have meant the place where I was parking.

In fact, I haven't done anything wrong all day---I don't think. So I
wish you wouldn't look at me that way. After all, I'm a stranger here in
Philadelphia myself!

Nevertheless, I am here to talk to you and it is indeed a very great

honor to appear before the chiefs of the finest police organizations in the world.

~~I wish~~ I wish very much that I could speak as one of you. That, however, is impossible because in this group I am most certainly an outsider.

~~Whereas your job is law enforcement, I am~~ Whereas your job is law enforcement, I am forbidden by law to take any part in the enforcement of law. The National Security Act of 1947 states this point very clearly: The Central Intelligence Agency "shall have no police, subpoena, law-enforcement powers, or internal security functions." This places me about as far out of police work as it is possible to get.

Nevertheless, there are certain points at which your work and my work come close together, and it is about some of these points that I

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ILLEGIB

wish to speak.

[Redacted]

First of all, there is the fact that ~~there~~ often in need of your help. Having no internal jurisdiction whatever, we can only ask for that help. That is why I ~~should like to~~ say here and now that the assistance and support that you gentlemen in various city and state organizations have generously given us in the past has been of the greatest value ~~to~~ the Central Intelligence Agency. I sincerely hope that we may continue to receive your cooperation when it is needed.

~~Going into broader fields,~~ It is clear that both of us are facing one enemy in common. He is a common enemy because he operates both internationally, and within the boundaries of everybody's country ~~at~~ his own. As a matter of internal security, you Chiefs of Police have to deal with him in everything from improper distribution of handbills on a street corner to espionage and sabotage in their most serious forms. On a world-wide basis we have to watch his movements and seek to divine his conspiracy before it comes to fruition in territories that you must police. I refer, ~~of course,~~ to the International Communist movement with its headquarters in Moscow, with an affiliated organization in Peiping,

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and with branch offices in Warsaw, in Prague, and in many other parts of the world. ~~Note to Colonel Grogan: These words are Allen Dulles'. I see no reason for editing them as done in US version.~~ 7

Such a world-wide conspiracy as this fosters no ordinary breed of criminal. Those engaged in it commit their crimes with great skill, a good deal of forethought, and with the backing of an efficient organization. The result is something hard to control, partly because the usual criminal motives are lacking. Here the real motive is not simple greed, but is rather weakening an officially friendly state in time of peace in order that it may be vulnerable to the long-range designs of a foreign power. Your success ~~in cooperation with the Federal Bureau of Investigation, the Treasury, and other national law-enforcement units,~~ in controlling this conspiracy within your countries is a fine tribute to the efficiency of police organizations in the free world.

My Agency can take no part in control of the Communist apparatus but must know what it is doing. We know, ~~for instance,~~ that in various places in the USSR and in the satellites there are training centers to teach the

techniques of subversive action and propaganda. Here, not only Soviet citizens are indoctrinated, but also candidates from China and the satellites as well as agents of every nationality for their world-wide network. Persons from the countries which are high on the target list for a subversive campaign are given priority.

The Soviets keep as a closely guarded secret the number of their citizens and foreign indigenous agents who are trained ~~for subversion~~ *for subversion and espionage* in the USSR, in China, and in the satellites. Certainly the number runs into many thousands. As the students graduate, they flow into the Soviet apparatus throughout the world. You have undoubtedly met some of these alumni, and if not, *you must meet some* ~~will meet some~~.

~~We do not claim to have insight into the book of regulations under which the international Communist apparatus operates, but we know a good bit about it.~~ *Some* High members of the MVD have revolted against the methods they have been taught to practice, and have come over voluntarily--"defected"--to the free world and told us much. Some of this has been published to the world. Some, for security reasons, should be held back to help us to

delve more deeply into the Communist organization and practices.

We estimate that Communist expenditure in support of its overall subversive mechanism is approximately 10 per cent of its expenditure on its overall armament program. On a comparable basis, that is, taking a comparable percentage of our defense budget, we would be allocating some three to four billion dollars annually to this type of activity. I need hardly tell you that such is not the case!

Since the International Communist Movement

With backing like this in training, organization, and funds, it is no wonder that you face a difficult problem on the home front and we, ~~the CIA~~, abroad.

International Communism is a fact of modern life. ~~It is one of the reasons why you have special problems in enforcing the law and we have special problems in our field. It is not the only reason. What a modern police chief faces and what a modern intelligence agency faces would probably be much the same even though less vicious, even if international crime did not take this particular form.~~

There was a time when ~~this~~ ^{our} happy country had no need of such newfangled

paraphernalia as Central Intelligence Agencies, or Federal Bureaus of Investigation, or even International Associations of Chiefs of Police.

In those days, criminals operated locally for the most part, and local police forces could confine their interests to their own localities. In those days also, if any foreign nation had decided to attack us, it would probably have been months before we should have known about it, but ^{it would have been} many ^{hours} more before the enemy could ^{do} anything about it.

But even before the 19th century was over, this happy day for law enforcement came to an end. It was in 1893 that responsible heads of police forces recognized this fact in founding your own organization. Fifteen years later, the Attorney General again recognized it in forming the first Federal Bureau of Investigation. ~~But~~ the establishment of the FBI and its beginnings as an effective organization, were not necessarily synonymous. As everybody knows, it is no coincidence that the FBI became a real factor in the enforcement of federal law in 1924 when J. Edgar Hoover took charge. One augury of a successful future for the enterprise came when Mr. Hoover, as one of his first acts, established a centralized fingerprint collection to be maintained for the International Association

of chiefs of Police and all other contributing agencies and departments.

With the establishment of these two organizations - one a federal bureau and the other a voluntary association of police officials - enormous progress was made in the direction of bringing crime prevention into line with the realities of our times.

Similar cooperation in intelligence work was longer in ^{being born} coming for reasons that are not hard to perceive. Before 1917, ~~most of us~~ ^{many} thought that the United States could mind its own business and let others fight each other if they must. With such a comfortable belief, there seemed never to be any cause for alarm that would suggest looking by means of intelligence into what was happening in the world before it was too late. ~~What we now call~~ World War I shook our confidence in our invulnerability to other people's wars but did not destroy it. Then came December 7, 1941.

It has been said that not just the garrison at Pearl Harbor, but all of us, were sound asleep that morning. We were awakened, then and there, to the sort of world we were going to have to live

after World War II

in thereafter. If we had been tempted to return to our pre-Pearl Harbor

nap, the events of 1946 alone would have been enough to show us that

there could be no sleep for the ~~kind of~~ world power we had become.

In the perilous world of 1947, grown so small that disaster could happen

far more suddenly and unexpectedly than at Pearl Harbor, Congress realized

that there was ~~little alternative to~~ ^{urgent need for} the establishment of central intel-

ligence in some form. Without a sound intelligence system, there could

be no real protection against the dangers that beset ~~us~~ ^{our Country}

What Congress actually established as part of the National Security

Act, however, has been ~~frequently~~ ^{sometimes} misunderstood.

Just as the beginnings of national and international police coop-

eration did not coincide with the establishment of police forces them-

selves, so the creation of Central Intelligence Agency in 1947 did not

coincide with the beginnings of intelligence activities on the part of

the United States. Intelligence had always been a function of our govern-

ment, even though on a smaller scale than had been customary in many

other governments.

The Central Intelligence Agency was not devised by Congress as a

means of setting intelligence activities in motion; but rather as a way of bringing together all the activities of the government related to intelligence and making them function harmoniously toward the single end of national security. If you read the Act, you will find that the main duty of Central Intelligence is to "coordinate"; that is to say, its job is to supply the means through which diverse activities may be unified for recognized purposes.

CIA

With all due respect to certain television programs this job is not exactly jam-packed with mystery and romance. The simple fact is that the United States Government receives a good deal of information from abroad. Some of it comes as a by-product of our normal transactions in foreign countries; some comes by way of the information that foreign countries normally publish for the rest of the world to see; some is deliberately sought for intelligence purposes. All of this information has to be studied, sorted, analyzed, and filed away for reference. What can be gleaned from it of importance has to be assembled and sent, in the form of various reports, to those in authority who need the information. ^{HP} This is the job of coordination that belongs to Central Intelligence. In

essence, it more resembles the work of a scholar, piecing together information stored in libraries than it does the romantic intrigues of the beautiful international spy so dear to the hearts of those who purvey fiction to an eager public. ^P And I suspect that this audience knows exactly what I mean unless ~~I~~ I am misled in believing that enormously painstaking research in homely files and businesslike laboratories precedes what looks to the public like a sudden and dramatic arrest and conviction.

and analysis have

Painstaking research has largely taken the place of dramatic adventure in intelligence. ~~Once upon a time, when a small group of men controlled foreign policy in the name of the king, possession of their immediate plans meant knowledge of their country's intentions. In those days, the shifty agent who could penetrate the confidence of this group was an indispensable, if not wholly desirable, element in intelligence work. But in modern times, although a small group of men (as in the USSR) may control a nation's foreign policy in theory, it cannot do so in fact.~~

~~For that reason, it is necessary~~ In order to understand a country's intentions, to know much more than what its rulers would like to do, You

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must find out what those rulers can and will do in terms of their own strengths and weaknesses and their relations with the rest of the world. Particularly with respect to a major foreign power, this requires a great deal more than ~~any one~~ agent, no matter how astute or resourceful, can possibly find out.

~~In fact,~~ espionage, either exciting or humdrum, is not the primary answer to the problem. The answer is partly to be found in manifold kinds of information gathered from numerous sources (mostly quite public) about conditions all over the world; and partly in what a great many people of many backgrounds and specializations can make of this information after they have put it all together. No single intelligence agency of any government could provide the answer. The coordinated efforts of many parts of the government and of the nations generally must be combined if even a partial answer is to be found.

The job of Central Intelligence is to provide this service of coordination to the government and particularly for the benefit of the National Security Council to which I report. As a non-voting member of the Council, my functions---aside from advising on matter of intelligence organization---is to provide foreign information pertinent to the Council's policy deliberations and for the

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benefit of those who give the Council advice.

This foreign information has been gathered and compiled by the Agency of which I am Director, in cooperation with other agencies of the government, particularly those concerned with intelligence in the departments of State and Defense. Before it is considered ready for the Council, it is fully discussed with the heads of military and civilian intelligence, ~~(including, of course, Mr. Hoover or his representative)~~ to make sure that all of us are in agreement on the accuracy of our facts and the authenticity of the interpretation placed upon them.

Thus there is a clear similarity between what I am employed to do and what you are employed to do in that both of us make all the facts available to *the National Security* a court (or in my case *A* Council) in order that it may render a sound verdict. Upon your success depends the protection of society against the criminal and subversive elements in it. Upon mine depends in part, the protection of our national security against the lawless element in international affairs.

When I began this talk, you remember, I had to confess to you how it makes a citizen feel to stand in front of such a formidable testimony to his civic conscience. At the same time, however, it occurred to me how comparatively at home I feel here and how safe in the presence of so much protection.

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~~In short,~~ I was thinking about what a vast contrast there is between the meaning of police power in countries like our own and ~~polite~~ ^{Communist} power in countries where people have been liberated by a dictatorship of the proletariat.

For one thing, in a country behind one of the various Communist curtains, the law I ~~mentioned~~ ^{referred to} a while ago that strictly separates your work and mine would not exist. The same sinister people would direct both foreign and domestic intelligence. The law would not be here to protect the people's rights, for they would have none. As servants of the State, their only function would be to serve the State. The job of the police would be to catch them at it if they failed. No one could ever be sure which of his neighbors was an informer. No one could feel safe in his innocence because innocence would be as defined by the State and subject to change without notice. As a citizen liable under such laws, I doubt that I should dare be in Philadelphia today, let alone in this auditorium!

As for you, I don't believe you would be here either because you would probably be in jail for failure to comply with ~~many~~ the rules governing the police in a police state. ^R We have many reasons to congratulate ourselves on being citizens of a free country.

Take the case of what passes as a police force in Communist China today.

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Doubtless they have to deal on the side with the same offenses that come to your attention like homicide, robbery, assault, fraud, and auto theft. But much more important for them are such duties as ferreting out people who are known as "counter-revolutionaries"; dealing with---to quote them---"all who incur criminal responsibility for...violations of labor discipline", or being constantly on the alert for what they term "criminals who obstruct the socialist transformation of agriculture"!

Imagine what your job would be like if you had to convince a jury in ~~this~~ ^{one} part of the world that somebody was guilty of being a "counter-revolutionary" or of obstructing the alleged transformation of agriculture from anything to anything else!

Well, it would probably be a pretty rugged job here, but it's no trick at all in ~~Communist~~ ^{Communist} China. The Chinese police can get convictions for practically anything that the State chooses to call crime. They don't even have to look for the evidence: it comes tumbling in to them gratis from special "post office boxes" thoughtfully provided by the State for people who want to make trouble for other people by depositing secret "denunciations" in these official boxes. ~~We should~~ ^{call such stuff hearsay and throw it out of court, but it doesn't bother the}

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The Chinese "People's Courts" are well schooled in the theory of jurisprudence that says a man is guilty until proved innocent and then is probably still guilty or he wouldn't be there in the first place. And lest these "Courts" should waver in their duty, they have recently been instructed by their boss, the Minister of Justice, to avoid what he calls "pacific thinking" which leads to what he calls "the mistake of giving lenient sentences to criminals."

So it might be easier to be a Chief of Police in China, but I have a feeling that you are going to want to stay ~~here~~ here, even though you are continually plagued by the crime of auto theft which wouldn't bother you at all in China where practically nobody owns an automobile to be stolen! As for me, I'll take a chance on you even if you won't believe my perfectly true story about not going an inch over fifteen miles an hour!

But perhaps if you disliked the idea of going to China, you might want to exchange your job for one in East Germany. A policeman over there, it seems, isn't confined to such limited choices as walking a beat, directing traffic, or driving a patrol car. He can specialize in artillery, or tanks; he can go into an air force

~~he can be in a navy,~~ And inasmuch as this remarkable sounding East German "police

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force" numbers ~~around~~ ^{over} 100,000, most of them trained in army, navy or air force tactics, you can even wonder what it's for. It hardly looks as if all this is necessary to protect one citizen from the larcenous intentions of another! On the other hand, such an organization as this would be pretty well equipped to handle the situation if the people happened to dislike the Communist government so much as to try to overthrow it. After all, the East German Government ~~was~~, let alone the Moscow government, wouldn't want a repetition of the ~~Russian~~ East German riots of two years ago.

But whatever this alleged police force may be, I don't think you would like it very well. There must be something wrong with it because its members have ~~deserted at the rate of 3000 a month~~ ^{deserted thousands} been deserting at the rate of 3000 ~~a month~~ a month and coming over to West Germany where there is ~~some~~ free air to breathe.

~~All right~~ I am afraid we give too little thought to how lucky we are to be where we are instead of where we might be. When the case you have built up through months of hard work comes to nothing because of the safeguards written into the laws of a Democracy, you can well remember how it might be if these safeguards were missing. ~~And~~ when I look at some of the apparent advantages the Communists have in what they call intelligence work because they abide by no rules of conduct

recognized under any moral code. I can always be happy to sacrifice such apparent

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advantages in return for living in a decent society.

Your job is to protect that society ~~again~~ internally; ours to watch its external enemies. Through the efforts of this ^{ASSOCIATION} organization to promote national and international cooperation in the fight against crime, society ~~has~~ in all our countries has benefited more than it will ever know.

On our part, in the eight years since Congress brought the Central Intelligence Agency into being, we have made considerable progress toward carrying out its mandate. There is still much to be done. *I am never satisfied for I insist we improve, and improve*
~~At the present time, however, I am convinced that our intelligence is so~~
organized that we can confidently face the terrifying complications of the twentieth century in the knowledge that our policies are guided by sound information, and that our defenses ~~remain~~ are well prepared against any attempt at a surprise attack.

continue to
May we all work together for the good of our country!

and continuing to improve. We can't be satisfied ever